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COMUSJAPAN YAOKOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12208

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, JA
SUBJECT: 1977 JAPAN DEFENSE WHITE PAPER

SUMMARY: WHITE PAPER ON "JAPAN DEFENSE" APPROVED BY CABINET JULY 29 REPRESENTS SHIFT TO US PATTERN OF ANNUAL DEFENSE POSTURE STATEMENTS -- LAST WHITE PAPER APPEARED IN 1976, BUT THIS IS ONLY THIRD SUCH COMPILATION. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH FALL 1976 OUTLINE OF "POST-FOURTH NATIONAL DEFENSE PLAN", DECISION TO PUBLISH ANNUALLY REPRESENTS FURTHER STEP IN PROMOTING PUBLIC EDUCATION ON DEFENSE MATTERS. THIS IS ALSO APPARENT IN SOMEWHAT LIVENED-UP FORMAT, MAKING GREATER USE OF CHARTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. ALTHOUGH F-15 MENTIONED BY THE JDA FOR FIRST TIME AS
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ITS FX SELECTION, CONTENT INCLUDES LITTLE THAT IS NEW

OR STARTLING, BUT SERVES TO ADVANCE MOST IMMEDIATE JAPAN DEFENSE AGENCY (JDA) DESIDERATA, WHILE SETTING LIMITS TO JAPAN'S EFFORT, BEYOND WHICH GOJ AT THIS TIME DOES NOT INTEND TO GO. EMPHASIS, IN KEEPING WITH DIRECTION OF US ADVICE AND URGING, IS ON QUALITATIVE

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IMPROVEMENTS, AND ARGUMENTATION, RANGING FROM ANALYSIS
OR INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND NATURE OF THREAT, TO
REVIEW OF PARTICULAR INCIDENTS SUCH AS MIG-25 INTRUSION,
ARE ARRAYED IN DEFENSE OF BUILD-UP RECOMMENDATIONS.
LATTER CENTER ON PROCUREMENT OF F-15, PXL AND, SUBSE-
QUENTLY, AEW AIRCRAFT. PUBLIC AND MEDIA REACTION TO WHITE PAPER
HAS BEEN NEITHER POINTEDLY POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE. WHILE
EDITORIALS CRITICIZED METHODOLOGY, PARTICULARLY RELIANCE
ON US ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, PAPER'S
PRESENTATION OF FORCE GOALS AND PROCUREMENT DESIDERATA
APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TACITLY ACCEPTED. END SUMMARY.

1. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH 1976 WHITE PAPER, FALL 1976 OUT-
LINE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE PLAN, AND DECISION TO PRODUCE
WHITE PAPER ANNUALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT CURRENT VERSION OF
DEFENSE WHITE PAPER APPROVED BY CABINET JULY 29 SERVES
TO PROMOTE PUBLIC EDUCATION ON DEFENSE MATTERS. PAPER
DEVOTES CONSIDERABLE SPACE TO DISCUSSION OF NEED TO
BUILD NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON DEFENSE MATTERS AND OBTAIN
UNDERSTANDING OF PEOPLE. IT ALSO CLEARLY SETS LIMITS TO
JAPAN'S EFFORT, BEYOND WHICH GOJ DOES NOT AT THIS TIME
INTEND TO GO, AND EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF US-JAPAN
SECURITY RELATIONSHIP TO DEFENSE OF JAPAN AND STABILITY
OR REGION. PAPER REALISTICALLY ACKNOWLEDGES SOVIET
MILITARY BUILD-UP AND RELATIVE DECLINE OF US MILITARY
POWER, ESPECIALLY IN ASIA, BUT STRESSES THAT US HAS
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BEGUN TO TAKE MEASURES TO RIGHT BALANCE IN
SOME KEY AREAS. THROUGH LENGTHY CHAPTER ON THREAT ANALYSIS
AND OTHER SEPARATE CHAPTER ON MIG-25 INCIDENT, PAPER
UNDERLINES NEED FOR QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN SDF IN
MANNER UNDERSTANDABLE TO MOST JAPANESE.

2. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF SALIENT POINTS IN PAPER.
CHAPTER 1, GEOPOLITICAL TRENDS AND MILITARY CAPABILITY,
EMPHASIZES SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP OVER PAST TEN YEARS,
WHICH PAPER DECLARES HAS RESULTED IN SAFETY OF SEA AND
AIR LANES AND US MAINLAND BEING JEOPARDIZED. PAPER
ALSO CALLS ATTENTION TO SOVIET QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS
IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY DEPLOYMENT OF NEW
ICBM'S AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SLBM (SS-N-8). US FY '78
POSTURE STATEMENT IS CITED IN EXPLAINING RATIONALE FOR
SOVIET BUILD-UP BUT PAPER ALSO NOTES COUNTERMEASURES
BEING UNDERTAKEN, INCLUDING EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN TRIAD
CAPABILITY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF MOBILE MX MISSILE,
DEPLOYMENT OF TRIDENT, AND STUDIES FOR FULL-SCALE
PRODUCTION OF B-1 (SIC). US CONVENTIONAL IMPROVEMENTS
HIGHLIGHTED INCLUDE INCREASE FROM 13 TO 16 COMBAT-READY
DIVISIONS, DEVELOPMENT OF AT HELICOPTERS, PLANNED DEPLOY-

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MENT OF AWACS, AND INCREASED PRODUCTION OF LA CLASS
HUNTER-KILLER SUBMARINES. PAPER ACCEPTS WHAT IT TERMS
"PARADOXICAL STATUS QUO OF 'COEXISTENCE AND CONFRONTATION'",
AS LIKELY TO PREVENT SUPERPOWER CLASH. IT ALSO NOTES,
"IT IS BELIEVED CERTAIN THAT THE U.S. WILL OBSERVE, AS
A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, ITS OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS," BUT
THAT MORE WILL BE ASKED FOR ON PART OF ALLIES AND
FRIENDS.

3. WHEREAS WHITE PAPER LOOKS UPON BIPOLAR BALANCE
TO SUSTAIN PEACE IN EUROPE AND MOST OF WORLD, IN ASIA,
PARTICULARLY NORTHEAST ASIA, TRIPOLAR BALANCE AMONG US,
USSR AND PRC IS SEEN AS PRECLUDING IMMEDIATE LARGE-SCALE
HOSTILITIES IN AREA. PAPER STATES THAT "STRONG AMERICAN
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DETERMINATION TO HONOR ITS STRATEGIC COMMITMENT TO (NEA)
AND PRESENCE OF AMERICAN MILITARY POWER IN AREA HAS CON-
TRIBUTED TO MILITARY STABILIZATION IN JAPAN AND NEIGHBOR-
ING NATIONS." US SHIFT FROM 2-1/2-WAR TO 1-1/2-WAR STRATEGIC
CONCEPT IS JUSTIFIED IN LIGHT OF SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT.
NEVERTHELESS, PAPER DWELLS AS SOME LENGTH UPON SOVIET
BUILD-UP IN AREAS ADJACENT TO JAPAN AND INCREASED
SOVIET AIR AND NAVAL ACTIVITY OFF JAPAN, WHICH RESULTED,
FOR EXAMPLE, IN 1976 IN 495 AIR-ALERT SCRAMBLES, COMPARED
WITH 281 IN 1975.

4. IN DISCUSSING KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS, PAPER ACCEPTS
DECISION, NOTING THAT EVEN THOUGH LOCAL CONFLICT CANNOT
BE RULED OUT, LARGE-SCALE CONFLICT "IS HARDLY CONCEIVABLE
AT PRESENT" INASMUCH AS US, SOVIET UNION AND CHINA ALL
DESIRE TO AVERT IT. MOREOVER, PAPER NOTES, US WILL
MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENT TO ROK; US AIR FORCE WILL BE
RETAINED IN ROK; AND ROK MODERNIZATION PROGRAM IS PRO-
GRESSING.

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC
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5. CHAPTER II, OUTLINING NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM, REVIEWS RATIONALE BEHIND "STANDARD DEFENSE FORCE CONCEPT," FIRST SET FORTH IN NATIONAL DEFENSE PLAN OR "POST-FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN," ADOPTED OCTOBER 29, 1976. PAPER POINTS OUT THAT REVIOUS FIVE-YEAR PLANS HAD BEEN FORMULATED DURING PERIOD OF QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION, BUT THAT "PRESENT LEVEL OF DEFENSE CAPABILITY CAN BE JUDGED TO BE CLEARLY APPROACHING ULTIMATE GOALS UNDER THE STANDARD DEFENSE FORCE CONCEPT." THIS CONCLUSION IS SUBSTANTIATED BY DETAILED REVIEW OF FORCE COMPOSITION, HIGHLIGHTING AREAS IN WHICH QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS ARE REQUIRED. PAPER DECLARES FUTURE PLANS WILL BE KEYED TO EACH FISCAL YEAR EXCEPT FOR MAJOR PROCUREMENT ITEMS. ADDRESSING ONE-PER-CENT GNP LIMITATION ON DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, PAPER CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTES THAT HTIS WAS INTERIM DECISION, TAKING ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION INTO ACCOUNT, BUT IS SUBJECT TO RECONSIDERATION IN FUTURE AS CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT.

6. CHAPTER III, "CURRENT PROBLEMS," IS DEVOTED FOR MOST PART TO RATIONALE FOR SELECTION OF F-15 AS NEW FIGHTER AIRCRAFT AND URGENT NEED TO SELECT FOLLOW-ON ASW AIR-CRAFT. PAPER GOES INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL IN COMPARING CAPABILITIES OF F-14, F-15 AND F-16, AND REVIEWS SECRETARY BROWN'S FEBRUARY 1977 TESTIMONY ON F-15 AND SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JDA DIRECTOR GENERAL MIHARA AND SECRETARY BROWN. CONCLUSION IS THAT IN OPINION JDA, "ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OR UNEASE ABOUT F-15'S PERFORMANCE WHICH MAY HAVE RESULTED FROM SECRETARY

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BORWN'S TESTIMONY HAS BEEN ERASED." WHILE NO CONCLUSION
IS REACHED IN REGARD TO PXL, ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES
ARE OUTLINED WITH VIEW TO SUBSTANTIATING NEED FOR EARLY
DECISION. PAPER TAKES COGNIZANCE OF LOCKHEED FACTOR, AND
WHILE DEFENDING CONDUCT OF PXL SELECTION PROCESS TO
DATE, NOTES THAT LOCKHEED AFFAIR "CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES
THE NEED FOR ALL EQUIPMENT-PROCUREMENT MATTERS TO BE
CONDUCTED IN A MORE ADEQUATE MANNER IN THE FUTURE."

7. LAST SECTION OF CHAPTER 3, ON JAPAN-US DEFENSE COOPERA-
TION, REPORTS ON STATUS OF VARIOUS CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMSN
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON FORMATION OF SUBCOMMITTEE
ON DEFENSE COOPERATION (SDC) AND TIS ACTIVITIES TO DATE,
WHICH PAPER DECLARES "ARE EXPECTED STEADILY TO PROMOTE
STUDIES AND CONSULTATION ON MEANS OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN
COOPERATION VITAL TO THE STRENGTHENING OF JAPAN-US
SECURITY SYSTEM."

8. FINAL 15-PAGE CHAPTER 4 IS DEVOTED IN ENTIRETY TO
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MIG-25 INCIDENT WITH WHAT APPEAR TO BE DUAL MOTIVES OF
JUSTIFYING GOJ DECISIONS IN MANAGING INCIDENT (A FULL
CHRONOLOGY IS INCLUDED) AND BUILDING CASE FOR CORRECTING
DEFICIENCIES IN JAPAN'S ACQUISITION OF AEW AIRCRAFT WITH
LOOK-DOWN CAPABILITY.

9. MEDIA AND PUBLIC REACTION TO WHITE PAPER IS PERHAPS
MOST NOTABLE FOR LACK OF CRITICISM OF RECOMMENDATIONS IN
REGARD TO FORCE PLANNING, PROCUREMENT PROGRAMS, OR,FOR
THAT MATTER, SUGGESTION THAT ONE-PER-CENT GNP BARRIER MAY
NOT BE IMMUTABLE. NOR HAVE POLITICAL LEADERS PAID MUCH
ATTENTION TO WHITE PAPER UP TO NOW, ALTHOUGH THEY CAN BE
EXPECTED TO DRAW ON IT FOR INTERPELLATION IN DIET SESSIONS.
EDITORIAL COMMENT FOCUSED ON ANALYSIS OF EXTERNAL SITUA-
TION, PRINCIPAL CRITICISM BEING THAT WHITE PAPER DREW
TOO HEAVILY UPON US VIEWS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN
POSTURE STATEMENT -- A THEME IN AT LEAST FIVE EDITORIALS
-- INSTEAD OF JUDGING FROM JAPAN'S OWN STANDPOINT IMPACT
OF SUCH MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS AS SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP
AND KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS. ASAHCSAND TOKYO SHINBUN,
RESPECTIVELY REPRESENTING LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE
VIEWS, BOTH SUGGESTED THAT FUTURE WHITE PAPERS BE ISSUED
BY NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL RATHER THAN JDA IN ORDER
BETTER TO FACTOR IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS.
ON OTHER HAND, SANKEI AND MAINICHI TOOK JDA TO TASK
FOR MAKING TOO MANY CONCESSIONS TO OTHER MINISTERIES
AND CONCEDING ON ITS OWN VIEWS IN PRESENTING TOO SANGUINE
A VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: IN THIS CONTEXT,
NUMBER OF COMMENTARIES THOUGHT WHITE PAPER HAD GIVEN

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SHORT SHRIFT TO KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS, TOO READILY ACCEPTING ACTION AS UNLIKELY TO AFFECT JAPANESE SECURITY.

10. COMMENT: FORCE GOALS CONTAINED IN CHAPTER III OF WHITE PAPER APPEAR REASONABLE, ALTHOUGH ONE COULD CYNICALLY CONCLUDE THAT STANDARD DEFENSE FORCE CONCEPT WAS DEVISED TO ADJUST TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONFIDENTIAL

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REALITIES. WHILE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT PAPER WILL HAVE DECISIVE IMPACT ON GOJ PROCUREMENT DECISIONS, WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO BE INFLUENCED AS MUCH OR MORE BY BUDGETARY AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY ANALYSIS OF FUNDAMENTAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS, WHITE PAPER SHOULD BROADEN SOMEWHAT SCOPE OF ONGOING DEFENSE DEBATE AND HELP GAIN POPULAR ACCEPTANCE OF NEED FOR QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS AND REPLACEMENT OF AGING EQUIPMENT. IT IS TOO MUCH TO HOPE THAT SUCH A WHITE PAPER WOULD BE ACCORDED FAVORABLE REVIEWS, BUT RELATIVELY REALISTIC NATURE OF CRITICISM AND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF FORCE POSTURE ITSELF SUGGEST EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN ON DEFENSE MATTERS HAS MADE CONSIDERABLE HEADWAY. WHETHER SUCH PROGRESS CAN BE TRANSLATED INTO BUDGETARY ACTION ON MAJOR PROCUREMENT ITEMS IS CURRENTLY ISSUE BEFORE THE HOUSE, BUT JDA SEEMS HOPEFUL. MANSFIELD

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